B:Métraux--209 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uro SF24

Cayangas-
Chipaya

/206 cont./

of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to dramas a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya compare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence. The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

/149 cont./

large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Kelwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 45 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara crossbreeding (see the Endnote, on Physical Anthropology /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an unknown father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Kelwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/ language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

For each text we shall indicate the informant who provided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

/182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/ at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations. However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood. Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was fatherless. "hána hep' ǰeǰ- ǰay," "no father is," "an illegitimate son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder, drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ǰa instead of ǰay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to reinforce the idea; we find an analogous case in ǰi- hún (5), the Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána kála ǰi ǰúña, "not good good is," association of two words of almost identical meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be war- ǰis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very long time ago."